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Music, memory and faith

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ABSTRACT

This study examines some of the ways in which the post-Tridentine Catholic Church harnessed music's reiterative and suggestive powers to promulgate its message. In particular music could stimulate memory and, in Christian Doctrine classes for the young, singing was used widely to sweeten the pill and to aid the memorising of items like the Creed, Pater Noster and Ave Maria. Singing *laude spirituali* in Italian could impart more subtle devotional knowledge. In later life members of lay confraternities sang hymns, canticles, psalms and Marian antiphons in Latin, as well as *laude spirituali*. All of this meant that people from all classes in society became familiar with the official texts and chants of the Church and, as a consequence, were susceptible to indoctrination, while being encouraged to memorise the tenets of their faith through music.

KEYWORDS

Christian doctrine, confraternity, lauda spirituale, memory, music

'Music, memory and faith: how did singing in Latin and the vernacular influence what people knew about their faith in early modern Rome?'

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The role of music in learning Catholic Doctrine was explicitly recognised in the *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana. Composta per il Dottore Ledesma, della Compagnia di Giesù* published in Rome by Paolo Blado in 1573. Jacques Ledesma was a Spanish Jesuit who taught in the Collegio Romano from the late 1550s until his death in 1575.ⁱ He was an active supporter of the various Compagnie della Dottrina Christiana which spread throughout Italy from the 1530s onwards with the object of teaching Christian doctrine.ⁱⁱ This relied on rote memorising of standard formulae, following the standard method of the time which made use of questions and answers in dialogue form between master and pupil. The use of this catechetical format has been described by Paul Grendler, for example, in the teaching of grammar during the Italian Renaissance.ⁱⁱⁱ Ledesma was well aware that the memorising process could be greatly assisted by music, as has already been discussed by scholars such as Giancarlo Rostirolla, Iain Fenlon and Nils Holger Petersen.^{iv} This study will extend their work by examining how music was used in the teaching of Christian Doctrine in Rome, with particular reference to the statutes of the Roman Compagnia della Dottrina Christiana, as well as looking at other contexts in which there is evidence for the exploitation of musical memory in the practices of Roman confraternities.

At the Sunday Christian Doctrine catechising sessions vernacular *laude spirituali* were sung from memory by selected boys and/or adults. As well as this, a few simple musical formulae were used by everyone to sing common prayers such as the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and the Creed. The rationale for this is explained in the 1573 *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana*:

Le cause perché si fa, et perché in questo modo; et particolarmente le cause perché si canta; principalmente ne i luoghi, dove è cosa nuova il cantare così; cioè perché i putti imparino più facilmente, et ancora quelli, che non sanno ben parlare, et quelli, che non sanno leggere, et i rozi d'ingegno, rustici, et le donne: si perché più si conferma la memoria co'l canto et si fa più soave l'imparare; et acciò in luogo di canzoni brutte, che si sogliono cantare, si cantino cose sante, et buone; si anco perché n'habbiamo l'esempio nella primitiva Chiesa, che cantavano hinni la mattina, et la sera in lode di Dio. Onde per queste, et altre simile cause hoggidì canta la Chiesa le cose sacre.^v

This is fleshed out even more in the introduction to *Lodi e Canzoni spirituali per cantar insieme con la Dottrina Christiana* published in 1576 in Milan as a companion volume to a revision of the *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana*. Like the 1573 print, this was a pocket-sized book, designed to be easily carried round by priests and teachers of doctrine.

Queste lodi poste qui, come fuori della Dottrina, servono per cantare alli putti: così nel principio, o nel mezzo, come in fine: quanto e come giudicherà necessario quello ch'insegna la Dottrina. Imperoché il cantare la Dottrina, et le

lodi spirituali a duoi cori è utile per più ragioni. Prima, per imparare con più facilità e mente, come l'isperienza già l'ha fatto chiaro. Second, per far che I putti stiano più allegramente alla Dottrina, nela tempo, che sono invitati alli guiocchi, come le feste. Terza, acciò quelli ch'apena possono parlare l'imparino per mezzo del canto. I che non impareriano sì presto senza canto. Quarta, per insegnarla con manco fatica. Percioché cantando verbigrazia il Credo tutti lo dicono, et volentieri, ma ascoltandolo a uno, a uno come sono molti, si spenderà molto tempo e fatica. Quinta, per evitar li cattivi canti, che sogliono cantare dovunque si trovano li putti, et grandi, per non sapere altri canti. Sesta, per far che quelli, che sentono, e non vengono alla Dottrina l'imparino. Settima, acciò li putti sappino cantare con quell'aere più facile che si potrà, dovunque saranno, et vorranno, overo la Dottrina, overo lode a Dio nostro signore. Ottava, per imitare l'uso della Chiesa Romana Cattolica, che canta la notte et il giorno le hore canoniche. Et ultima, per cantare gli Angioli nel Cielo, che continuamente cantano, Santo, Santo, Santo, a il Signor Iddio, il quale solo è degno di lode, e gloria, et honore: il quale disse, intrando in Hierusalemme, a' gli Giudei, che reprendevano gli figliuoli, quali cantando dicevano: Osanna fili David etc. che se gli figliuoli cessavano di lodarlo, le pietre lo lodariano.^{vi}

This is a strong manifesto for the educational use of music (in its broadest sense) by Christian doctrine confraternities in the wake of the Council of Trent. Ledesma sets out the various functions served by church music down the ages: singing the canonical hours in order to participate in the singing of the heavenly choirs; making services more attractive, both to regular attenders and to those whose curiosity might be aroused by hearing the music; boosting the educational process, since singing helps the memory; offering a more effective means of communication for people with little reading and speaking ability, since people are much more inclined to sing things which they might hesitate at speaking. Finally, the provision of spiritual songs with approved texts was an essential part of the campaign against what was seen as dangerous secular music, a recurrent theme among those churchmen involved with music and/or education in this period.

Ledesma's 1573 *Modo per insegnar* is particularly detailed in its instructions on how to use music in teaching – and, indeed, on how to teach music. The method was based on singing a phrase at a time, first by the teacher, then by one or two of the pupils, and finally having the whole group repeat it:

Per isperienza si vede, che molto s'aiutano i putti, et gustano molto, quando se gli insegna qualche divota canzone, ben detta, con bell'aria, et accommodata a' i figliuoli: quali potranno cantare due o quattro, che siano prima bene ammaestrati in quella separatamente. Et prima questi soli la cantino: et quando vedrà, che gli altri l'habbiano imparata, potranno rispondere tutti. Di questi canzoni, secondo le feste, se ne potranno dir delle nuove non ancor dette, a proposito di quelle feste, che occorrono, principalmente della Madonna, Natività de N[ostro] S[ignore] et Resurrectione, del Santissimo Sacramento, della Passione etc.^{vii}

Having mastered one such song the pupils could proceed to another and so on. The last sentence in this quotation stresses the way that singing and music could be used to

impart religious knowledge, especially that concerning the official feastdays of the church. At the end of his book Ledesma gives tables listing particular *laude* from his collection fitting for use on Sundays and major feastdays.

There is also a clear subtext of behavioural socialisation behind the instruction in these books, laying down guidelines for good behaviour in the street and in church. Chapter 12 of the *Modo d'insegnar* says that the children should be exhorted to be an example of all the virtues; when they wished to sing, either in the streets or at home, they should sing parts of the catechism and not 'bad' songs: heretics persist in singing such bad things even when forbidden by the authorities, so it is important that Catholics should sing for the edification of other Catholics with the approval of their superiors, rather than resembling the heretics. They should stand with reverence, modesty and attention, with heads uncovered, when they sang or recited prayers, joining their hands in the correct way for prayer. Further if they find someone saying bad things, swearing or blaspheming, telling lies or singing bad songs either in their houses or outside, they should exhort them with charity and modesty. Here we can see the very Jesuit programme of reaching the children first and using them to reform their parents and the rest of society, turning people into devout Catholics and well-behaved citizens from the bottom up.

There are even more specific socialising exhortations about the manner of singing together: pupils should wait for each other, with modesty, not shouting too much nor raising their [individual] voices so that they might sing together consonantly. Ledesma also suggests that, at the end of the session, pupils and teachers should go in procession, singing something from the catechism, stopping where there are people and doing some exhortation, heading for some church or another and there singing the *Salve Regina*. He also gives an extended series of verses to be sung by one, two or four pupils in the street before the teaching session begins, in order to encourage people to attend. These were analogous to street-cries. No music is given but whatever chant was used for the mainly seven-syllable lines would surely have been extremely simple and repetitive.

Ledesma's dialogues elaborated the texts of the common prayers which were being memorised, using them as a peg on which to hang essential doctrine. The book begins with the Apostles' Creed and goes on to provide an exegesis of the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, the ten commandments and the seven sacraments. In his follow-up publication, *Dottrina Christiana a modo di dialogo* published by Ledesma in Milan in 1576, the *Salve Regina* was added, as well as the six commandments of the Church, the seven deadly sins and various other lists of sins, the seven sacraments, the four cardinal and other lists of virtues, the eight beatitudes, the corporal works of mercy etc.^{viii} At the end come the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary and the Latin texts needed for the serving of mass.

Ledesma's 1573 book provides a very simple four-voice formula for singing the *Ave Maria* (in Latin) and says that the same formula can be used for the *Credo*, *Pater noster* etc. In fact there are two related formulae, one for each half of the *Ave Maria*. The introduction further instructs that, if there is just one singer, the tenor line should be sung; if two, three or four singers the extra parts are added as needed. The formula could thus provide both monophonic and polyphonic settings. This is followed by a simple four-voice harmonisation of the well-known lauda, *Giesù*,

Giesù, Giesù, ogniun chiami Giesù. The book also gives the texts of a number of *laude* to be sung to the same musical formula. The 1576 *Lodi e Canzoni Spirituali per cantare* provides a single vocal part for the music of six *canti* or simple tunes, to each of which is assigned a number of *lauda* texts varying from four to six.

The twenty-second *lauda* of the collection can serve as an example of the sometimes intense devotional sentiments expressed in these texts which would have been memorised by the children. It is set in verses of three lines of seven- and eleven-syllables. Even if aimed primarily at children this *lauda* does not make any concessions to age, expressing typical Counter-reformation piety in the relationship between the particular soul and Christ, the former meditating vividly on the concrete objects used in the Passion and relating each of them to a personal conversion experience.^{ix} One of those objects, believed to be the lance of Longinus which had pierced Christ's side on the cross, was physically venerated in the basilica of S. Pietro in Vaticano and it was one of the targets of solemn confraternity processions on Holy Thursday and Good Friday. There is a clear resemblance between the sentiments expressed here and those in the second part of the *Stabat mater*;^x there is also a similarity in structure with that hymn which also has three-line verses (for devotional singing of the *Stabat mater* see below).

Dispost'ho de seguirti
Giesu speranza mia
Per aspr'e dura via, con la mia croce.

O lancia empia ed atroce
ch'hai trapassato il cuore
Del mio dolce Signor, passa'l cuor mio.

Voglio sentir anch'io
De chiodi il gran martiro
Che le tue man sentino, e i piedi insieme.

E quelle pene estreme
Delle pungenti spine
Ch'alle tempie divine, ingiuria fero.

O Giesu mio Dio vero
Vo ber' l'aeto e fele
Che'l ministro crudele, al fin ti porse [...]

Altro'l mio cuor non vuole
Che Giesu crocifisso
Et a sue piaghe fisso, sempre stare.

In Rome the *Compagnia de'servi de'putti della compagnia della carità* was founded in 1560 for the promotion of Christian doctrine among the children of the city. This confraternity, raised to the rank of an archconfraternity in 1607, soon became known as the (Arci)Confraternita della Dottrina Christiana or simply the Dottrina Christiana. By 1611 there were 79 schools in the city teaching more than 10,000 children.^{xi} The teaching normally took place on Sundays in parish churches or

adjoining rooms or schools. The Statutes of 1611 give a detailed description of the proceedings.^{xiii} When the children were partly gathered, the Prior had some *lauda spirituale* sung (by whom is not specified but presumably by the older more experienced children) as well as the Credo, or some other section of the catechism. When all were gathered, the bell sounded and all knelt while two boys with good voices, kneeling in the middle of the school, commenced the *In Nomine Patris* etc. as well as the invocation to the Holy Spirit, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and its attendant prayers, then the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* with two other boys answering alternate verses. All went to their individual classes (8-10 pupils for each master) for about three-quarters of an hour. Afterwards the Prior rang the bell to call them back when they all sat down and another *lauda* was sung. Then the Prior called those who were to take part in the *disputa* or test to kneel in the middle of the room. Once the *laudi* (the plural is used in the statutes) were finished, these pupils kissed the ground and ascended onto some high benches with modesty, as one of them led a prayer. The *disputa* began with one pupil interrogating another, or using other dialogue methods across the benches. The assistants corrected errors and told those who had erred to descend (they had to kiss the ground with loving feeling) and gave prizes to those who answered correctly. The assistants then went over some points of doctrine or read from the lives of the saints. This part lasted for three-quarters of an hour.

The Prior then rang the bell again and everyone knelt while two boys intoned the Litany with everyone responding. At the end the prayer *Ora pro nobis Santa Dei Genetrix* was said (identifying the Litany as that of Our Lady of Loreto). Further Paters and Aves were said for the needs of the church, for the Pope, the Cardinal Protector and for the progress of the Arciconfraternity. If any of the members had just died a Pater and Ave were said for their soul. After another bell a student went into the pulpit and delivered a sermon which he had previously memorised or else read two or three chapters of the Confraternity's Statutes followed by some words of explanation by one of the assistants. Finally the pupils departed in twos in silence, genuflecting before the Blessed Sacrament and kissing the ground as they did so.

These prescriptions shows how integral music was to the teaching processes of the Dottrina Christiana. As well as music, some catechisms used pictures to aid the teaching, with graphic woodcuts illustrating sins and their consequences.^{xiii} As Paul Grendler has pointed out, the Sunday schools set out 'to instruct the uneducated, or the minimally educated, layman in the rudiments of the faith'.^{xiv} They did not seek to deepen theological knowledge but rather to provide certainty that if the rules were obeyed, salvation would follow. What could be easily memorised was lists – of sins, commandment, virtues, feastdays etc. - and these were also readily examinable. At the same time more devotional language and ideas could be transmitted through the singing of *laude* such as 'Dispost'ho de seguirti' quoted above; this was something music could add to the process, particularly for the non-literate. As a side effect these schools did also teach some reading and writing. Eventually the lack of even basic education for many of the poor in Rome led José Calasanz, governor of the Roman Dottrina Christiana from 1593, to set up his own schools, the *Scuole Pie*, and the religious community called Piarists to run them.^{xv} These provided basic reading and writing skills, helping prepare boys for trades, but also taught Latin in the higher classes.

It seems safe to assume that, similarly to reading and writing, some basic music theory must have been assimilated through the Dottrina Christiana classes, particularly by older children and those chosen to lead the singing. Teaching music to boys was carried out in various contexts in the city at this period, from the specialized training given to choirboys in the basilicas and churches with regular choirs, to the musical instruction given to orphans by the confraternities of S. Spirito in Sassia or S. Maria della Visitazione degli Orfani.^{xvi} Such teaching started with basic music reading, using the Guidonian hand to facilitate solmisation, and making use of simple textbooks such as the much reprinted *Breviloquium musicale* of Bonaventura da Brescia first published in 1497, or the *Cantorino* of Adriano Banchieri of 1622, both described by James Haar.^{xvii} The aim was primarily to teach plainchant, from simple reciting tones and syllabic chants up to the more complex melismatic ones. Rote memory also had an important role to play here.

The singing of *laude spirituali* was not confined to Dottrina Christiana sessions, of course. If the post-Tridentine Catholic church did not allow for direct lay participation in the official liturgy, singing by the laity outside of the formal liturgy was certainly encouraged, particularly in the devotional activities of confraternities and in the companies which sang *laude spirituali*.^{xviii} Such singing was particularly promoted in Rome by Filippo Neri, and spread to other centres where oratories on the Roman model were developed.^{xix} Even if participation in the official liturgy was not possible for everyone, certain parts of it could be celebrated in parallel in confraternity oratories: the office of the Blessed Virgin, the penitential psalms, major prayers such as the *Te Deum*, Magnificat etc. The role of confraternities, to which a large proportion of early modern Italians belonged, was crucial in this.

An example can be given from Rome in the Jubilee Year of 1625. Members of the Roman Confraternita delle Santissima Stimate di S. Francesco went in procession to the Porta del Popolo to meet its sister confraternity from Florence, accompanied by some singers as was customary. After greeting each other in pairs with a kiss of peace, the combined group processed through the ancient gate singing the Latin *Te Deum* while interspersing the verses with a well-known refrain from the *lauda spirituale* tradition: ‘lodate sempre sia il nome di Gesù et di Maria’ (‘praised be forever the names of Jesus and Mary’).^{xx} It is unusual in the Roman context to find a recorded description of this mixing of languages, and of elements from both the liturgical canon and the popular *lauda* tradition, but confraternities were well placed to provide a locus wherein such standard liturgical practices and popular devotion could intersect. The same practice is recorded at the completion of Jesuit parish missions in Southern Italy in the early eighteenth century, where the priests conducting the mission intoned the Latin text and the people responded with ‘lodato e ringraziato sempre sia il nome di Gesù e di Maria’.^{xxi} At these missions other staple Latin items were sung with similar vernacular intrapositions: the *Veni creator*, *Dies irae*, *Pange lingua* and some of the psalms.

The *Te Deum* also appears in a story from the founding mythology of the Confraternita dell’Orazione e Morte, whose members undertook the task of searching the Roman *campagna* for dead bodies and giving them a decent burial.^{xxii} In one story, while out recovering bodies the brothers took shelter in a cave but then they heard a voice saying ‘uscite fratelli’ three times. They obeyed the voice and went outside and immediately the cave collapsed. Their response was to sing the *Te Deum*

from memory in gratitude. In another story some of the brothers became extremely hungry while collecting a body fifteen miles from the city. They tried a number of villages but couldn't get any food. Eventually they turned to prayer and recited the *Miserere* and *De profundis* (Psalms 50 and 129, the best known of the penitential psalms) for the souls of the dead; as soon as they had finished, a man appeared with seventeen loaves and some herrings. They offered to buy these but while they were counting them the man disappeared – this was reckoned a miracle, with clear overtones of Christ's multiplication of the loaves and fishes and its Eucharistic symbolism. In these two instances the texts of the two psalms were clearly known by heart, as well as the words and melody of the *Te Deum*.

Such chanting was woven into the fabric of confraternity life. Imitating religious orders, confraternities developed the practice of weekly or monthly chanting of offices in their oratories or churches – generally parts of the Office of the Blessed Virgin. This practice would have made certain psalms familiar, particularly those of Marian Matins, Lauds and Vespers, as well as the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and *Te Deum*. Other items for which there is evidence from statutes and archival documents for antiphonal or responsorial chanting by confraternity members include: the seven penitential psalms (Pss. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142 in the Vulgate numbering), the Marian antiphons (especially the *Salve Regina*, sung as part of Saturday devotions) the litanies of the Virgin and of the Saints and the *Veni Creator* (sung at induction ceremonies of officials and before elections). While liturgical books were available and used for the changing parts of the office, the recurring texts would quickly have become imprinted on the memory and, between them, they summarised much of Catholic church doctrine and devotional outlook. There are regular payments to musicians for teaching confraternity members and their sons to sing – presumably plainchant, though this is not specified – and admonitions about chanting at an appropriate speed which mirror those given to chaplains at the city's institutions. This chanting, which usually took place in a private sacred space such as an oratory or chapel, reinforced a feeling of group solidarity, of ritual kinship or what Jennifer Fisk Rondeau has called 'homosociality', the male bonding which taking part in shared private activities encouraged among men (women did not normally chant the offices, though music, sung by hired-in professionals, could be included in the programme of the annual general meeting of the *Congregationi delle Donne* held by confraternities).^{xxiii}

It was during Lent and Holy Week that the heaviest levels of activity took place in confraternity oratories. There was weekly or even nightly chanting of the *Salve Regina* and weekly devotional services centred around the chanting of the seven penitential psalms and litanies. During the last three days of Holy week the Triduum of Tenebrae Matins was often chanted in oratories, including the lessons taken from the Lamentations of Jeremiah.^{xxiv} In the larger oratories of more aristocratic (and richer) confraternities these, as well as the responsories, were sung in polyphony. The Tenebrae offices ended with the chanting of the *Miserere* in almost total darkness; this was usually sung in *falsobordone*, a sort of simple improvised harmonisation, often for two choirs, with added ornamentation. The most famous example was Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere* setting where the singers of the Cappella Pontificia added ever more complex ornaments to the basically simple harmony of Allegri's original setting. While polyphonic settings of the *Miserere* and *De profundis* are commonly found, the other five penitential psalms were chanted or recited, not just during Lent

but in other contexts too. Members of the Florentine confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato recited them while accompanying those condemned to death to their execution.^{xxv} The artistic Compagnia dei Virtuosi del Pantheon prescribed their recitation before monthly Mass at their altar in the Pantheon.^{xxvi} The texts of the penitential psalms stressed the evils which befell the wicked, the difficulties which even the well behaved had with living, the need to rely on the mercy of God and to seek forgiveness for sin.

A paraliturgical Holy Week ceremony which took place in at least one oratory, that of S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, and may have happened in others too, was the veneration of the cross on Good Friday which included the singing of the *Stabat mater* and two psalms, 50 and 21. The veneration of the cross forms part of the official liturgy prescribed for that day but the 1590 statutes of the Orazione e Morte stipulate the separate holding of this ceremony in the oratory in the evening, after the brothers had chanted the office of Tenebrae and processed to and from S. Pietro in Vaticano to venerate the Lance of Longinus and the Veil of Veronica.^{xxvii}

Si ponerà uno Crocifisso avanti l'altare, dove cominciando dal Governatore, et poi gli Guardiani, offitiali, et fratelli tutti ordinatamente con molta humiltà sciolto i cordoni, et postosegli al collo, come quelli, che conoscendo havere fatte infinite offese alla Divina Maestà, dovendogli domandare perdono fanno questo segno esteriore d'humiltà, anderanno ad adorare quel santissimo Crocifisso, dove potranno fare quella elemosina, che Iddio gli ispirarà, et ciascheduno si ponerà poi ordinatamente inginocchiato, ò da una parte, ò dall'altra, et mentre si farà questo si canterà Stabat Mater Dolorosa overo il Salmo Miserere, ò il Salmo Deus, Deus meus respice in me quare me dereliquisti [...]

Processions provided another important context in which memorised musical chants were performed. Professional singers and groups of friars took part but there is much evidence of lay confraternity members also singing during processions. The 1565 statutes of SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello decree that the brothers should sing when accompanying its relic of the true cross on the four occasions when the tabernacle containing the confraternity's miraculous crucifix was opened, 'singing processionally whatever was appropriate to that holy day' and 'singing hymns and psalms'. Before people were blessed with the relic, it was instructed that some *laude* should be sung.^{xxviii} Similar injunctions can be found in the archives of other confraternities. Litanies were particularly integral to processions, the singing of which Robert Kendrick has described as 'an oral act of collective prayer'.^{xxix} The Litany of the Saints, the Litany of Loreto and other Marian litanies, the Litany of the Name of Jesus, all had a role to play. Two boy sopranos often intoned the invocations, with everyone responding using the recurring musical formula. Settings could alternate chant and polyphony and thus, as Kendrick has pointed out, allow for inclusiveness through the potential participation of everyone present, whatever class they came from.

From all of this discussion a picture emerges of a general familiarity with a significant body of religious texts, sung or chanted devotionally or paraliturgically by a broad cross section of the Roman population in the early modern period. Virtually everyone in Rome was a member of at least one confraternity and was thus exposed to

some level of text-music association. When we talk of musical memory we are speaking about a wide spectrum of activity across all classes of society. At the lower end of the scale, non-literate people with an ear for music would have found it easy to remember litany invocations, common vernacular interjections and a range of chanted items such as the *Ave Maria*, *Pater noster* and the *Salve Regina*. Those with a more developed knowledge of liturgical music would have been helped through music to memorise more extended items like the *Stabat mater*, *Veni Creator*, *Miserere*, *De Profundis* and the *Te Deum*. The chant formulae to which these common items were sung were relatively simple, ranging from repeated reciting tones of just a few different notes to the somewhat more complex melodies, still largely syllabic, used for the *Salve Regina* and *Stabat mater*. The familiarity which resulted from this is reflected in confraternity statutes such as those of Rome's S. Spirito in Sassia of 1636 which prescribe that, when an office-bearer or a regular attender died, one nocturn of Matins plus Lauds of the Office of the Dead was recited; for other deceased members the *De Profundis* and/or five Paters and Aves (the latter for those who were unlearned) were specified.^{xxx} At the more patrician and aristocratic level those who could read music and who sang or played regularly would have had a more developed musical memory. They might be expected to recognise musically intertextual quotations as when, for example, composers like Orlando di Lasso or Tomás Luis de Victoria used the plainchant incipit of the *Salve Regina* to set the word 'Salve' when it appeared in other contexts.^{xxxi} Making such connections relied on musical memory.

The other side of that coin is represented by attempts to destroy music-text associations when those texts were secular. The writing of new texts, known as *contrafacta*, to replace those of secular madrigals was a common preoccupation for some churchmen and others; among these was the oratorian father and later bishop, Giovenale Ancina, who moved from Rome to set up an oratorian house in Naples.^{xxxii} There are numerous examples of such *contrafacta* written for the madrigals of Monteverdi and others; whether or not they could succeed in totally breaking the original association and thus deceiving the memory into making a new association, was a matter for discussion and some disagreement.^{xxxiii}

How did singing influence people's knowledge of their faith? Primarily through a process of acculturation, of accustoming people to the tenets of the faith through repetition and musical association – a form of in-doctrination. It could work subliminally in helping the less educated absorb doctrines which they might not have understood intellectually. Singing could sweeten the pill of memorising the Creed and other longer items. It promoted community and encouraged post-Tridentine Catholics to deepen their commitment through internalising reformed Catholic theology. Unlike Protestant liturgies in which ordinary people were encouraged to sing at regular intervals – what the Scottish Reformation historian Jane Dawson has called 'singing the Reformation'^{xxxiv} – the Catholic laity were passive during Mass and offices like Vespers. However, a plethora of quasi-liturgical, devotional and processional services grew up, particularly under the auspices of confraternities, which allowed them too to sing their faith. The new religious orders like the Jesuits, Oratorians and Barnabites were at the forefront in recognising the power of singing in encouraging devotion and influencing peoples' attitudes to their religious belief.

By seeking to control the process of what people memorised through music the church could promulgate approved versions of prayers for singing, helping to

establish approved church teaching in the wake of the Council of Trent. Simon Ditchfield has pointed out, for example, that the *Salve Regina*, made obligatory by Pope Pius V after Compline and Lauds between Trinity and Advent Sundays, transmitted the explicit message of the efficacy of the power of the Virgin Mary as mediatrix.^{xxxv} Robert Kendrick has detailed the various versions of the Marian litany which were in circulation and charts the eventual primacy of the popular Litany of Loreto, despite attempts to promulgate a more theologically approved one derived from Sacred Scripture, giving into popular tradition while at the same time bringing it under control.^{xxxvi} The same process saw the official Office of the Blessed Virgin replace various popular Marian devotional texts in use since the Middle Ages. Similarly, the stream of *lauda spirituale* publications by the Roman Oratorians from the 1560s onwards represent a desire to control what had previously been a more fluid and popular medium.

Music in the broadest sense of the word was ubiquitous to the early modern ear, as Christopher Marsh has demonstrated in the English context.^{xxxvii} This study has provided some examples of ways that the post-Tridentine Catholic Church harnessed music's reiterative and suggestive powers to promulgate its message. The constant singing of hymns, psalms, canticles and Marian antiphons in Latin, as well as officially-sanctioned *laude spirituali* in Italian, meant that the Roman populace – as well as people elsewhere in Italy – was surrounded by the official texts and chants of the Church and thus susceptible to indoctrination and encouraged to memorise the tenets of their faith.

ⁱ Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'Laudi e canti religiosi per l'esercizio spirituale della Dottrina cristiana al tempo di Robert Bellarmino' in *Bellarmino e la Controriforma, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Sora, 15-18 ottobre 1986)* ed. A. Borromeo, R. De Maio, L. Giulia, G. Lutz and A. Mazzacano (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani V. Patriarca, 1990), pp. 663-847 (p. 677).

ⁱⁱ Alessandro Tamborini, *La Compagnia e le scuole della dottrina cristiana* (Milan: Giovanni Daverio, 1939); Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); *Ibid.*, 'The schools of Christian doctrine in Renaissance Italy', *Church History*, 53 (1984), 319-31.

ⁱⁱⁱ Grendler, *Schooling*, p. 173.

^{iv} Rostirolla, 'Laudi e canti religiosi'; Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Chapter 4; Eyolf Østrem and Nils Holger Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music. The Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

^v Jacques Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana. Composta per il Dottore Ledesma, della Compagnia di Giesù* (Rome: Blado, 1573), 8v.

^{vi} *Lodi e Canzoni spirituali per cantar insieme con la Dottrina Christiana* (Milan: Pontio, 1576), f. 4.

^{vii} Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar*, f. 16v.

^{viii} Jacques Ledesma, *Dottrina Christiana a modo di dialogo* (Milan: Pontio, 1576).

^{ix} These objects – the scourge, the spear with a sponge and the lance of Longinus – formed part of the emblem of the Roman Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Christiana.

^x 'Eia mater, fons amoris,
me sentire vim doloris,
fac ut tecum lugeam [...]
fac me tecum pie flere,
crucifixo condolere,
donec ego vixero.'

^{xi} Sergio Rivabene, 'L'Insegnamento catechistico dell'Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Christiana a Roma nei secoli XIV-XVIII' *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 105 (1982), 295-313; Gerarda Franza, *Il Catchismo a Roma dal Concilio di Trento a Pio VI nello zelo dell'Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Christiana* (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1958).

- ^{xii} *Consitutioni della Venerabile Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Christiana di Roma* (Rome: Stamperia della Camera Apostolica, 1611). A similar description, though without referring to singing, is given by the English Jesuit Gregory Martin who spent the years 1576-8 in Rome. Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* ed. George Bruner (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), pp. 210-14.
- ^{xiii} Grendler, *Schooling*, p. 355.
- ^{xiv} Grendler, *Schooling*, p. 349.
- ^{xv} Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 381ff.
- ^{xvi} Noel O'Regan, 'Choirboys in early modern Rome', in *Young Choristers 650-1700* ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 216-140.
- ^{xvii} James Haar, 'Some introductory remarks on musical pedagogy', in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* ed. Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 3-22.
- ^{xviii} This point is made by Stefania Nanni in her introductory chapter, 'La Musica dei Semplici', in *La Musica dei Semplici: L'altra Controriforma* ed. Stefania Nanni (Rome: Viella, 2012), pp. 9-32.
- ^{xix} Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'La musica a Roma al tempo del cardinal Baronio: L'oratorio e la produzione laudistica in ambiente romano', in *Baronio e l'arte. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio (Sora, 10-13 ottobre 1984)* eds. A. Borromeo, R. De Maio, L. Gulia, G. Lutz and A. Mazzacane (Sora: Centro di Studi V. Patriarca, 1986), pp. 573-771. Idem., 'Aspetti di vita musicale religiosa nella chiesa e negli oratori dei Padri Filippini e Gesuiti di Napoli a cavaliere tra Cinque e Seicento, con particolare riguardo alla tradizione laudistica', in *La Musica a Napoli durante il Seicento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Napoli, 11-14 Aprile 1985)*, eds. D. A. D'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1987), pp. 643-704.
- ^{xx} Rome, Archivio del Vicariato, Fondo Arciconfraternita della SS. Stimmate di S. Francesco 164: *Diario dell'Anno Santo 1625*, f. 12.
- ^{xxi} Bernadette Majorana, 'Musiche voci e suoni nelle missioni rurali dei gesuiti italiani (XVI-XVIII secolo)', in *La Musica dei Semplici*, pp. 125-154.
- ^{xxii} A. Bevignani, 'L'arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell'orazione e morte in Roma e le sue rappresentazioni sacre', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 33 (1910), 4-176.
- ^{xxiii} Jennifer Fisk Rondeau, 'Homosexuality and civic (dis)order in late medieval Italian confraternities', in *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000), pp. 30-47.
- ^{xxiv} Noel O'Regan, 'Roman confraternities and their oratories 1550-1600', *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia*, 1987 (Torino: Edizioni di Torino, 1990), pp. 891-98.
- ^{xxv} Rome, Archivio di Stato, Fondo S. Giovanni Decollato, 6, f. 92.
- ^{xxvi} Vitaliano Tiberia, *La Compagnia di S. Giuseppe di Terrasanta nel XVI secolo* (Rome: Pontificia accademia dei virtuosi al Pantheon, 2000), p. 108.
- ^{xxvii} *Statuti Dell'Arciconfraternita della Morte et Oratione* (Rome: Blado, 1590), Capitolo 32.
- ^{xxviii} *Statuti et Ordini della Venerabile Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello di Roma* (Rome: Blado, 1565), Capitolo 26.
- ^{xxix} Robert Kendrick, "'Honore a Dio, e allegrezza alli santi, e consolazione alli putti': the musical projection of Litanies in sixteenth-century Italy", *Sanctorum* 6 (2009), 13-44.
- ^{xxx} Reprinted as *Costituzioni e capitoli della Venerabile Arciconfraternita di S. Spirito in Sassia di Roma* (Rome: Ciotola, 1885).
- ^{xxxi} This is the case in, for example, Victoria's motet *Doctor bonus* at the phrase 'Salve, crux'
- ^{xxxii} Pietro Damilano, *Giovenale Ancina Musicista Filippino* (Florence: Olschki, 1956). Rostirolla, 'Aspetti di vita musicale religiosa'.
- ^{xxxiii} Robert Falck and Martin Picker, 'Contrafactum' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 26, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06361>; Margaret Ann Rorke, 'Sacred Contrafacta of Monteverdi Madrigals and Cardinal Borromeo's Milan', *Music and Letters*, 65 (1984), 68-76.
- ^{xxxiv} Jane Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed, 1488-1587* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).
- ^{xxxv} Simon Ditchfield, "Leggere e vedere Roma come icona culturale (1500-18—circa), in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 16. Roma, la città del papa*, ed. Luigi Fiorani and Adriano Prosperi, pp. 31-72.
- ^{xxxvi} Kendrick.
- ^{xxxvii} Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).